/27 cont'd/

here.) However, their fishing methods and the scale of the fishing are not as extensive as those of the Li. Other than when they occasionally join the Li in large-scale fishing, they usually fish individually or in a small group. In any case, fishing plays no important role in their economic life.

6. Handicrafts

Bamboo is common in the Miao area, and there is a well-developed industry in bamboo. Among their products are baskets, boxes, winnowing baskets, strainers, etc. Aside from those for domestic use, the surplus products are exchanged with the Li for rice and grain to meet food shortages. The men are skilled in making wooden furniture. Tables, stools, mortars, troughs, etc., are all homemade. They can build a house within a short time with purlins and rafters made by themselves. Needless to say, these houses are very primitive.

The Miao women are good weavers. I regret that I have not personally examined their weaving. In particular, the Miao women are experts in dyeing. There is a species of plant in the Miao area /28/ which produces blue juice. The women pick the leaves from the plant and soak them in a large water jar. The dyeing process consists of daubing white cotton cloth with wax and thus drawing and painting on it various kinds of designs as the dyer pleases. The cloth is then soaked in the jar of blue indigo. After a short time, the cloth is taken out, and the wax is cleaned off, leaving the design on the blue cloth. This method of dyeing is called the "wax method." Ryûzô Torii* also observed this method of dyeing among

/* Professor Ryûzô Torii (1870-1953) was a well-known Japanese anthropologist.—Tr./

the Miao in Kweichou province and has described it in great detail. He is quoted as follows: "First, they set out the cloth in a certain place, wax is then melted a little, and on the cloth designs are painted with the melted wax at the dyer's pleasure. After the

/19 cont./

M *101 CC 563 M [162] when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao, according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M [167] (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference, M [131] 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines resides this tribe.

[167] [301] [556] [527] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M [167] [462] [782] [769] (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with M [262] [263] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

/20 cont./ in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees, and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei-ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing-ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board, and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.) What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this custom.

(17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax is washed out and the designs appear.

/93/

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /sic/ of the Miao is the family, and moreover their family structure is the small family system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under age. This kind of small family system is the original system of the Miao. The Miao Fang Pei Lan, in the chapter on [591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is another household." Because of the small family system their [573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice [595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together with the wife, or to live separately. In the family [462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but household [423] chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family [422] property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture, tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets [582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system, clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there 551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

291
531

round caps with symbols embroidered around the bottom, and sometimes with a few coloured beads on strings used as additional ornaments. The special goodluck charm seems to be worked only on the children's caps. The heathen Miao women wear large silver earrings, and at the weddings the bride wears a long silver chain attached to her two silver hairpins. Physically, the Miao are quite a different type from the Chinese. They are shorter, generally, and more lithe and agile. They are not especially slant-eyed, and their eyes are a lighter, softer brown, often sparkling with a merry twinkle as they talk. They are entirely monogamous, and the husband and wife eat together, work together, and have much more of a normal family life than is seen among the Chinese. The women go to work in the fields or the woods, carrying their babies strapped to their backs much as the Cantonese women carry their children, with an immense palmleaf stuck under the shoulder band, to keep the sun and rain from the child.

301
144
[595]
854/
462

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

596 592 men of the family — his son, the nephews, and their sons — and his own daughters had free access to his rooms. The second wife was the household manager. The others evidently took their orders for the day from her, even the first wife lacking full independence from planning for the family as a whole. This second wife was a good planner, but I thought I detected times when her rule was a bit resented. She seemed, by the force of her personality, to have usurped almost completely the place of the first wife. Her daughters — one married and living in a village twenty miles away called Yang-niu-ts'un (Yang cattle village) and the two at home — were very like her. She was a fascinating woman with much poise, and her daughters were handsomer than most of the Miao women I saw. The oldest one at 596 home, Mo-mei (fig. 19, *e*), aged nineteen, 512 was very skillful with her needle, at dyeing cloth, and such "clean" tasks, and spent much time washing her own clothes and visiting relatives. She made it a habit to come in for a visit with me before bedtime, which was early, as neither candles nor vegetable oil lamp gave me enough light to see to read or sew. On the days when their stable was cleared and their large field set out with rice plants she helped and rather set the pace, but on successive days she worked on more congenial tasks. The younger girl, ten, had some schooling. The older wife headed the second group of the family at such times as certain feasts in the house — the wives of the nephews, the son's wife, and the younger children, and the two young men. But at the chief feasts of the year she joined the group in the old man's room. She was very bent and probably could not do as much work as when she was younger. She spent much time taking care of the grandsons and in gardening. After the rice harvest she was busy with the sunning [768] of grain. After the old man died she wore the skirt worn by a bride and her attendants doubled across the back instead of the back apron, as the old lady in House 12 had done.

462 Aside from during the very busiest season of the year, when rice was transplanted, I saw none of the men of the family doing hard work. For a while it seemed as if the son and second nephew did nothing but sleep and

 eat.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

241 with her two grandchildren, a boy of twelve and a girl of ten, who were reaping wheat. Some had been taken from the field. Now she was cutting the stalks about four inches from the ground. I helped the children lay the stalks together so that a number of heads could be struck off together, and to pick up what fell to the ground. At noon the boy went home with a load of wheat heads and returned with a basket of rice mixed with wheat, a dish of pickled green vegetable, and the necessary bowls and chopsticks. The women led us to a spring on the floor of the valley where we could get cold water to drink with our meal. I doubted the wisdom of drinking from a spring so near newly fertilized rice fields, but it was a very hot day. We brought a bowl of water back to the field so that the woman could sharpen her sickle on a small piece of stone she carried in a bamboo holder. We worked until well after sunset.

Although there was a good breeze, these days were very hot and everyone hoped for rain so that the fields could have a good flooding. Some of the fields from which the crops had been harvested were planted to maize and long beans. More fields which had crops in them were later planted to rice. By the middle of the fourth month (end of May, 1942) some former wheat fields were already planted to maize and soy beans, well up and requiring cultivation. Others were being plowed as they were cleared. In general, all fields that could be sufficiently flooded were given over to rice, the rest to maize, beans, tobacco, red chillies, and millet.

241 462 After the day in which sixteen women worked together to set out plants in the one large field, there were a few other occasions when a large group worked in the same field or adjacent ones (fig. 15, *a*). But in general women from several small households worked together in bundling up the rice plants (one man worked in one group), reaping wheat, transplanting, and so on, or each family took care of its own fields. While younger women were busy in the fields the older women in our household beat out pulse, flailed wheat and winnowed it, sunned rice, and kept an eye on the children when they were not playing away from home.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

used the mattock, and as they worked they fertilized the plants with night soil and wood ashes mixed with animal manure. Our family also used some lime mixed with manure, which was left over from several loads carried to another village eighteen *li* [3] away. Toward the end of the fifth month several young men had taken out the pile in the room back of the kitchen in the new house and mixed it with manure, after which some of the village girls and women of our household carried it. It must have been promised for a certain day, for the trip was made in a drenching rain which made the road hard to travel. Mo-mei, the oldest daughter, was a member of this group.

It was interesting to note the attitude taken toward the transplanting of rice in different localities and among different people in one locality. In Yünnan among the Chinese near Kunming men bundled up the plants and transported them, while only women were allowed to set them out. I was told that this was a custom borrowed from the non-Chinese there, who believed that the women insured fertility. Here the women did all of it, with only a few men helping with either bundling or setting out. In both cases the men did the plowing and most of the harrowing. In the one Chinese family in this village and those between the valley and Lung-li I saw only men doing all of it.

While the busy season was in progress all the bundles of faggots in the lofts got used up, so now and then the women went to get more. Often it was much mixed with dried grass, fern, and so on, sometimes mostly of these. Also huge bundles of long, fresh grass for the animals, which were kept in the stables, were brought in. Women and children took water buffalo out once or twice a day for a soaking in the large pond and for feeding upon the rushes and reeds in it. But cultivation was the main task for all women, who took time out only to nurse a boil or catch up on washing and mending. The men went to market a great deal, most of them carrying wood in one form or another — planks, pieces of log, split firewood, faggots, bamboo poles. They seemed able, with what they could find

[3] A measure of length reckoned at 360 paces or

4:Micke} E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

year began. During this period there was time for weddings, visits to other villages to "drink wine," and celebrate such events as *tso chia*,[8] and bullfights.[9] One bullfight was held at Hsin-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien on the tenth of the eighth month (September 19), another at Yang-chia-sai on the tenth of the ninth month (October 19). A bride went from Yang-chia-sai on the sixth of the tenth month (November 13). On the third of the tenth month (November 10) several girls went to the village into which a girl from Yang-chia-sai had been married two years before, to celebrate *tso chia* with her in her new home. A girl was married into the village on the fifth of the eleventh month (December 12) and the old man's son took a second wife on the twenty-third of the second month of the next year (March 28, 1943).

Of course, even though this was perhaps the slackest season of the year, there was still much to be done in the way of cultivation of fields and gardens, and the bringing in of fuel against the period of almost complete leisure during the first lunar month. On sunny days grain had to be brought out and sunned, and some of that stored in sheaves sunned in the sheaves, beaten out into the wooden box, against an upturned millstone, or with the flail, dried, and stored. In preparation for the entertainment of guests, for the New Year feasts of the household, and that as little time as possible in the first month need be spent in preparing food, much time was also used in the making of glutinous rice cakes, rice wine, bean curd, cured and smoked pork, and sausage. The harvest had been abundant and the family could afford some new clothing, that those who attended bullfights and feasts might look their best and be a credit to the family. White cloth was purchased in the piece and dyed before being made up. All clothing and bedding, the houses, and their surroundings were cleaned and set in order.

This is the agricultural calendar, followed year after year.

Implements and Technique. The technique of farming was identical with that of Chinese and Chung-chia of the neighborhood,

[8] See p. 51, note 2.
[9] See pp. 76 ff.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940s?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

241 462 with the exception of the fact that the Miao women seemed to do a greater proportion of the out-of-door work. That is, in a well-to-do Miao household the women worked just as hard as those in the poorer ones, but in a well-to-do Chinese family the women spent most of their time at home. The work of women will be discussed more in detail under Division of Labor.

241 412 The implements used were as follows: for breaking up and cultivation of the ground—plows, harrows, and mattocks. The plow (fig. 13, *d*) had an iron share like two overlapping shingles and one upright piece through the beam. The end of the beam was the handle. The harrow was two beams with iron spikes on the under side and a transverse piece at either end, the whole forming a rectangle with projecting ends. The mattock had a long, wooden handle and a blade of iron about six inches wide at the edge. The harness was a slightly bent wooden beam laid across the neck of the animal with a heavy rope from it under its neck and two light ropes to the implement. As the man plowed or harrowed he guided the animal by another cord attached to one side of the yoke. The plow had to be lifted a little when turning corners. In use the harrow was weighted with a large stone. For reaping, gathering grass, and gathering fuel the sickle was used. It had a short wooden handle and an iron blade, originally with a straight cutting edge and rounded outer edge, but with much sharpening becoming a crescent. The men had a wooden holder of the shape as shown in figure 10 which they fastened with a straw cord about the waist to the small of the back. The handle of the sickle was thrust into the hole in the top of this with the blade up. A little bamboo basket for the whetting stone was worn at the belt in front. For beating out the grain they used a square wooden box, four feet each way and two deep, an upturned stone, a flail, bamboo baskets, and a bamboo mat. The beater took up a bundle of rice and beat out the grain on the inside of the box or against the upturned stone set on the mat. Or the sheaves were laid end to end and flailed. The flail was two lengths of bamboo or sticks fastened to a short piece in such a way that the worker could hold one length in her hands and swing the

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, racheted water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability.

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain.

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yang-chia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, *e*). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un.

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

462 only
252 rarely did a man do any of the cooking. Butchering was done by men, but the preservation of meat and the preparation of dishes from meats was usually taken care of by women. They dried beef by placing the pieces on sticks across the opening in the stove from which a large cooking bowl had been removed and keeping a fire going under it. They cured pork and made sausage. Meat was smoked simply by hanging the pieces up over the floor firepit.

462 With the help of an older man now and
241 then, women took full charge of kitchen gardens, from whence came vegetables used by the household for their own food or taken to market, and green stuff for the feeding of animals. They prepared the mash for cattle and ponies as well as the swill for pigs, and fed them. They also did most of the work in other fields after the plowing and harrowing were finished. If the ground was broken up not with the plow but the mattock, they did that, too. And cultivation from the sowing of the seed (the casting of rice into the seed beds excepted), through weeding, fertilizing, and transplanting to reaping was largely the work of women.

They gathered most of the firewood and other fuel, much of the grass for animals and for the raincapes they themselves made, and carried most of the water from springs for household use. They did their share of the cleaning of stables and carrying the straw and manure to the fields. They carried all the night soil from cesspools and applied it as fertilizer. If the pond was low enough in the spring, they got down into the thigh-deep mud and dug for the water chestnut known as *tzu ku*. Men, women, boys, and girls made a picnic of wading waist deep in the pond and "feeling" for fish and large snails, for food.

They bundled up the rice plants in the seed beds, transported them, and set them out. They reaped wheat and its attendant crops, flailed out the grain, winnowed and sunned it, dried the plants of rape, beans and peas, beat out the seeds and pulse. They cut the rice plants, both ordinary rice with the sickle and glutinous rice with a knife, helped to beat it out and transport the grain and straw, sunned, cleaned, winnowed, and hulled the grain, and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 241 from the straw of glutinous rice made sandals.

462 283 386 291 They raised hemp in their gardens, cut it, stripped, dried, and bleached the fibers, separated the strands, and from them made the two grades of thread — one for sewing and mending and one for weaving into cloth. They gathered and dried nutgalls and from them prepared a dye, by which they dyed white cloth bought in piece in the market an even, almost black blue. They made all the clothing for themselves and their families and their bedding. They wove the straw comforter, too. Girls and younger women made the embroidery on the overpiece, front apron, and turban scarf, and wove belts, while the older women made hemp thread and did the weaving of cloth for the back apron and bands for the baby pad. It was the older women who wove the straw comforter on a vertical loom.

286 Three types of loom were used. First there was that described in the making of the belt. Second, there was the vertical loom used for the weaving of straw comforters. This had two beams, one high and one near the floor, from which the warp ropes of twisted straw went back and forth. Two of the poles supporting the rafters served as uprights. The weft was similar to the warp, except that straw ends were left sticking out so that the result was smooth on one side and had a nap on the other. The weft was sent through by hand, in and out, over and under successive threads as in the weaving of a rug or carpet. The third was used for the weaving of hemp cloth and bands.

Set on the floor was a substantial frame of two by fours about eight feet long and three wide, with pieces to brace it along the sides and, a little lower down, across the ends, also one about two feet from one end. The upper pieces extended two feet beyond the frame at each end. Into this frame was set another, lighter one, going into the upper horizontal pieces at the back, but down into the bracing piece at the front. It had a horizontal brace about a foot above the main frame, across the front of this lighter frame.

In the back, just in front of the uprights of this second frame, a board was put across for the weaver to sit upon. At the front end the yarn beam rolled in slots in the frame and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

was held firm by projecting rods which rested on a board across the frame. From the yarn beam the warp proceeded across the horizontal bar of the lighter frame, through two heddles of the frame variety made of bamboo rods with hemp thread between them, which were suspended from a roller laid across the lighter frame or through holes pierced in it, by straw rope and vine tendrils. They were a little wider than the piece of cloth used in the back apron, and the threads were about a foot long. From the lower ends similar ropes led to the fronts of two pedals. Other ropes of the same kind led from the backs of the pedals to the horizontal brace at the back of the main frame. From the heddles the warp proceeded to a reed, also suspended from the lighter frame, thence to the cloth beam set in slots in uprights in the longitudinal brace of the main frame, its longitudinal pieces and projecting above. The cloth beam was then held firm by straw rope tied around it and the frame behind the upright on one side. There were laze-rods set in just behind the front board.

Shed and countershed were formed by depressing first one pedal and then the other. The weft was shot through by hand, wound on bamboo shuttles of the shape as shown in figure 11. The weft was beaten up with the reed. Most of the warp thread was rolled on the yarn beam, but some extended beyond and lay in a basket. The reed was made of two pieces of wood, between which could be set and fastened a removable frame like that of the heddles, but without eyes in the thread which stretched between. The weaver took hold of two vertical bars as she beat up the weft. The contrivance was suspended by ropes attached to those bars.

Women also cooked the paste and beans and shaped the glutinous rice cakes, distilled rice wine, ground the beans and made bean curd, including that mixed with pig's blood at the lunar New Year. They helped cut tobacco in the fields, cutting the leaves from the stalk in such a way as to leave a piece of it for a hook by which they fastened it into a rope of straw made as they went. These ropes were festooned across the fronts of the houses to dry, after which it was ready to smoke in their long-stemmed pipes.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

The next day after a baby was born, the mother appeared with it in a pad on her back, and in a few days she was doing regular work again. As long as the baby was fed its mother's milk only, she carried it thus about her work at all times and of all kinds, especially if there was no older woman or child to carry it while it was asleep. She swung it down from her back and laid it to sleep on the pad in fine, warm weather, while she worked. On rainy days the children gathered around her and received some much-needed discipline as she sewed and mended.

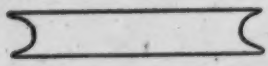


FIG. 11. Bamboo shuttle.

Women sometimes quietly watched animals as they grazed or ducks and geese as they swam on the pond. After the stable was built for House 11, the pit in the north room was filled in. One day I heard a pounding and discovered a woman of the household bending over and pounding with a heavy wooden mallet the clay which, well mixed with water, had been thrown into the pit until it made a floor level with the floors in the other rooms of the house. At another time I saw a woman making a clay floor in a granary. Women regulated the activities of the household and of cultivation, did some of the transporting of grain and other produce to market, the selling, and the purchase of supplies there.

Men did the plowing and harrowing, with only an occasional woman doing the latter. They cast the rice into the seed beds. Women put in other seeds. Occasionally an older man worked in fields or gardens. Men cut timber, sawed lumber into planks and beams, cut down bamboo poles, cut wood into lengths for firewod, shaped poles, and did most of the transporting of wood to market, though women sometimes carried a lighter load. Men helped with the gathering of fuel and grass when the need was most pressing and similarly did some of the carrying of water. They did an almost equal share of the cleaning of stables and transporting and spreading of fertilizer. They did a little more than an even share of the beating out of grain in the field

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

462 and transporting it therefrom. They helped
241 with the carrying out of grain and carrying it in again at night, when it had been sunned on the mats.

462 One or two men swung the large wooden
252 mallets by means of which glutinous rice paste was beaten in a stone mortar to the right consistency for shaping. Men did the butchering of animals. They did most of the cutting of tobacco and the making of its leaves into festoons for drying.

463 Men worked in large groups to bring the
342 stone for a building's foundation, transport,
412 bark and trim the logs, and from them make planks and beams. They fitted them together according to the directions of a head carpenter and set up the frame. They did the roofing of houses, whether the laying on of thatch or the placing of tile. They also made articles of wood, such as the wooden parts of some tools and implements, water casks, and buckets, and of bamboo, such as baskets, scoops, and mats. There were no special craftsmen in the village other than those who were especially skilled in the making of wooden and bamboo articles. When a building was constructed the owner made the stone foundation and other villagers barked the logs, sawed the planks, shaped the pieces of the frame, assembled it under the direction of one old man. Men might be called in from other villages for this work. In Yang-niu-ts'un local men not only did the work of building a new house but also made articles needed in it.

462 Men sometimes took charge of children,
855 even to carrying a baby on the back while plowing. They were apt to be more indulgent than the mothers, and the children en-
622 joyed being with them. Contacts with the
875 outside world, other than a certain amount of buying and selling and social visiting with
648 other Cowrie Shell Miao, were carried on by the men. Certain men of the village were heads of a *pao*, ten families, the smallest division in the Chinese political system of the district, and one older man with leisure and education was the chief of these. Small matters came before them, and only when they could not settle a matter was it taken to the *lien* (group of) *pao*, perhaps even to the *hsien* officials. Two men in this village have been teachers in the local school.

442 241 It has already been noted that men and women worked together in such things as the cleaning of stables and the carrying of fertilizer, the transplanting and harvesting of rice, and the transportation of goods to market.

857 Children also had their duties to perform. Older children took care of smaller ones, carrying them on their backs when they were asleep or wanted to be carried, watching them as they played, teaching them songs, and otherwise amusing them. From the time when they were just about able to toddle around they imitated the actions of their elders and gradually began to do a larger and larger share of the work. One girl of twelve was able to do almost as well as women twice her age in field work, but her loads of faggots were smaller. Children did most of the watching of animals while they grazed. They carried a lunch of cold rice in a little square, covered basket and stayed the whole day on the mountains or along the dikes. Boys learned to work in wood and bamboo by watching their elders.

443 **Markets and Sources of Income.** Markets were held in the *hsien* cities and in market villages. These were held every sixth day and so planned that merchants might go from one to the other of six markets in turn. In the *hsien* cities there were also "rice" or "little" markets held on every other day between the large, or regular markets. Lung-li was six miles from Yang-chia-sai, Kou-ch'ang in Kueiting Hsien, whose market was held the next day after each large Lung-li market, was about a mile farther and by a more difficult road. Most of the buying and selling from Yang-chia-sai was done in Lung-li. Kou-ch'ang was favored for certain local products such as seed grain.

Like Kweiyang, the *hsien* city of Lung-li was in an open plain, but a narrow one. The space between the mountains was sufficient for a walled town of one long street between the east and west gates and one or two on either side. There were fields outside the city walls. Its normal population was between three and four thousand, augmented during the war by the coming of some "companies" for the installation and repair of charcoal burners in motor lorries and the distillation of grain alcohol for fuel, an Army officers' train-

as the Miao cook tastes something like steamed sawdust. In the lean weeks, before the spring harvest ripens, potatoes form the staple food of large numbers of the people. They can usually afford to have with their meals pounded rock salt purchased from the Chinese, but at times even this becomes a luxury; sometimes so scarce that people fortunate enough to buy it will lick it much as a Western child will lick a barley sugar stick. Being neither handicraftsmen, traders nor shopkeepers, the majority of the Miao are miserably poor. Their laws are those of the Chinese Government, and for money they use whatever is in currency amongst the Chinese. The old men of a neighbourhood are the rulers. One and all clothe themselves with homespun, and it is part of a woman's work to weave all the clothes necessary for herself, her husband and her children. This is no light task. The women have very much more work to do than men. They weave the clothes, carry the water, collect fire-wood, assist in the farm work and bear innumerable children, and so well do they manage this that a majority of the mothers are up and about the house a day after giving birth to a babe. Their clothing is distinct and different from Chinese dress. A man wears sandals, which he himself has made, short trousers reaching down to the knee, and a loose-fitting upper garment which is between a jacket and a gown. For head-dress he wears a turban made of a length of blue or white cloth. The women wear sandals, coloured puttees, and, scorning to wear trousers as Chinese women do,

791 Miao-I center has one or two Kwei-shih, who learned their trade since childhood. Among the Chung-chia people the magic charms used for such [212] spiritual purposes are marked with Chinese characters as phonetic symbols and written down as a scripture to be transmitted from master to disciple. The Kwei-shih, who are farmers by trade, take up mediumship as a side line to supplement their income from remunerations gained [753] from its practice. In case of sickness the 791 Miao-I believe the evil spirits are causing 462 trouble, and it is the duty of the Mi-la to chase them away in order to cure the sick person. Often she is invited to the house to do her work. Sometimes in public gatherings the Mi-la is surrounded by people inquiring from her as to the best method of driving away spirits. Evidently the Mi-la is less able than the Kwei-shih, for in case of very serious illness or in the performance of funeral rites the man medium is always preferred.

(2) Spirits of ailment. The Miao-I's belief in spirits is so strong that in case of ailment they neither think of a doctor nor of medicine, but of the Mi-la alone. She is generally an old woman, and on arriving at the house she is immediately possessed by the divinity she has invoked. The latter would reveal to her the identity of the evil spirit and devise /90/ the means to be extricated from it. There are many kinds of evil spirits, and the measures to ward them off also vary.

As a result of our investigation, we are able to list the names of the spirits and their antidotes:

776 1. The Family Spirit. The disembodied 765 spirit of a departed person of the same tribe, when met on the road, would give serious stomach-ache. The antidote is to take a bowl of rice filled with water, and twelve sheets of

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

are none to be found. One explanation given by Ch'uan Miao friends is that the danger of fire was too great so that people no longer built their houses so close together. There are two other possible reasons. One is that the Chinese destroyed the strongholds in war and to prevent future rebellions, and the other is that there is no longer danger of raids and attacks from the Lolos. Chinese histories actually mention the destruction of the strongholds.[7]

There is an old custom that is not always practised according to which when a family moves an iron cooking vessel is buried near the old home as a means of commemorating it. Another old custom now no longer practised is that when a person died in a house the house was destroyed and the family moved to another spot and built a new home.

Hunting is a pastime engaged in by the men and boys when game is plentiful, in winter when there is less farm work to do and during the New Year holidays. Sometimes one person goes hunting alone, sometimes two or three men go out into the woods together and at other times a larger number make up a hunting party. In such a party some of the men guard the paths where the animals are likely to come out and others with dogs go towards them through the woods shouting and driving the animals towards their waiting companions. Formerly traps were set, snares were used, and pits were dug, but since the coming of firearms these have fallen into disuse. Bows and arrows and crossbows have almost but not entirely disappeared. The arrows are sometimes poisoned in which case they cause death within a short time.

It has already been noted that some Ch'uan Miao, in addition to being farmers, are also when occasion requires carpenters, blacksmiths or masons. A smaller number work in brass or silver, but the best work in all these trades is done by Chinese.

Both men and women work in the fields, using the hoe and the sickle, but only men use the plow. It is believed to be sinful for a woman to plow, for a cow or a water-buffalo is a worthy beast and woman is inferior, and if she does use the plow the animal she uses will accuse her of sin after she dies and goes to heaven. Both men and women carry loads on their backs or on carrying poles. Women generally carry water, make yarn from wool, make string from hemp shreds, do most of the sewing, cooking and weaving and do all the embroidery work, leaving the larger share of the farm work to the men. It is therefore customary to speak of one's mother as the old lady inside the house and of one's father as the old man outside the house.

7. This is mentioned in the history of the Prefecture of Suifu, 敘州府志

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom.

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron *ko* or cooking vessel.

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig dog, cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose.

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition.

Women weave cloth on home-made wooden looms, and they generally do the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do.

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the White Miao group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese.

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batiks of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies.

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no

241 eight ears. The stalks likewise are placed in piles in the fields, and then carried in as needed for bedding for the animals, heating, cooking food, or even building house walls.

The Meo grow little mountain rice and almost never plain's rice. The areas rarely lend themselves to the latter crop. However we have discovered, especially at Gi Chu Phin near Van Bu, magnificent mountain cirques whose slopes were decorated with terraced rice fields up to an altitude of one thousand meters.

A side from hemp, buckwheat, and opium, other crops are planted in the furrows of the fields of maize and among the stalks of that plant. This is done in such a way that the same field may produce at the same time beans, peas, pumpkins, broad beans, cucumbers and a grain called cao lien which serves to make flour and the bread eaten on holidays.

When the maize has been harvested, a crop of buckwheat is sometimes sown in the soil.

249 Opium is sown in November, the poppy seeds being mixed
248 with ashes to protect them from insects. The incisions are made in the plant in April or May, then once all of them have given up their opium, preparations are started for a crop of maize on the same soil.

Hemp is grown at the lowest spot in the cirques, because it requires very deep arable soil. It is sown in April and harvested in
245 July. Sorghum is sown and reaped at the same time as maize. Finally some peach, pear, apple, plum trees, etc., are almost always found around the cabin. Their fruit, although less well flavored than those of France, is still not to be scorned.

286 The Meo make their cloth themselves from the hemp which
412 they harvest. Some of them forge their work tools, spades, plough-
415 shares, pruning-hooks, hoes, etc., and buy crude iron which comes from Yunnan for this purpose. They make their ladles and buckets, furniture, sandals of bamboo fiber, pottery and, in short, all of their farming implements.

252 /140/ To grind maize they use a mill similar to the Coi xay
243 of the Annamese, but larger. The movable mill-stone here is activate
462 by a crank which is articulated with a system of horizontal spokes attached to a strong wooden bar. Three or four women operate this bar by drawing it towards them and away from the mill, and then by pushing it towards the mill. The picture afforded by this exercise is one of vigorous movement. The bodies of these strong daughters of the mountain bending, their return movement which shows a glowing

face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts, linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

/141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their necklaces.

/276 cont./

342 the other two corner posts, as well as all the other supporting posts in between, are set in, the crossbeams of the roof are tied on, and the vertical planks are fastened.

/277/ Then the roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) is laid on and fastened. In the meantime the women have prepared the palm leaves, and the men start the roof covering. /Figs. 75 and 76 appear here./

[462] This proceeds in the following fashion: women and children tie the palm leaves in rows on poles (Fig. 77), and these are then placed on one another in layers, like roof tiles, by the men (Fig. 78). They /Figs. 77-78 appear here/ /278/ start this at the lowest point of the roof and continue until the ridge is reached. When this has been done on both sides of the roof, the long bamboo poles are put to the right and left of it, parallel to the long axis of the roof, and tied fast to the roof truss. Now, at intervals of about one meter, the roof riders, which crowning everything, hold down the leaf shingles, are tied to the roof truss.

When the house is completed in this fashion, the fireplace,
342 the hearth, and the partitions are built. Then a temporary altar
782 is erected by putting a board over three supporting posts. Here
[778] the owner of the house sacrifices a couple of chickens and invites the ancestors and his spirit-teachers (see the chapter, "Religion," the section, "Deities and Spirits") to move into their new dwelling. In front of the entrance door he likewise sacrifices a couple of chickens for the high Father-Mother spirit and asks him to protect the house and to take up residence in it very often.

342 Savina (1) describes the house construction in Indochina:

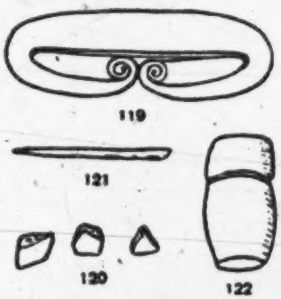
1. II, p. 184.

"The mountain site where the new colony intends to settle has been prepared two or three months previously. The site for the new house has been cleared of weeds, the timber has been cut, the maize fields are cleared and have even been seeded. Thus
[461] one is quickly installed. In a few days the house is up, which, incidentally, does not cost much in labor. The Meau make everything themselves. They are masons, carpenters, smiths,

354 /300 cont./ This fireplace is the place of the father of
[512] the house; he rests here when he smokes his pipe after the
[592] work is done. /301/ he sits here with his sons when there
[574] is something to be talked over, he receives strangers here,
and there is talk, laughter, and singing here, often until
[372] midnight. The fire blazes, leaps, and crackles day and
342 night. Savina (1) describes a small room with a hearth that

1. II, p. 192.

serves as a kitchen and is found next to the large living
[574] room in which the guests are received. He further
describes at the same place a living room for guests as
follows: "The room at the other side of the central room
contains one or two beds and a hearth. Here the guests
512 are lodged and this is where the men retire after the even-
462 ing meal while the women wash up and put the children
to bed. Soon the entire family assembles there. The men
smoke, chat and laugh, chop grass for the horses, split pine
roots for fuel, plait carrying baskets, make handles for tools,
and do similar work. The women break up hemp, sew,
372 weave, and repair old clothing. At the end of the evening,
[512]



Figs. 119-122
Firemaking apparatus of the Meau.
Fig. 119. Iron, 1/nat. size. Fig. 120. Flints,
1/2 nat. size. Fig. 121. Little stick of wood,
[415] 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 122. Bamboo container,
1/5 nat. size.

39: Bernatzik--503 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/372/

Chapter 18

Food and Stimulants

a) Food

262 In addition to the plants and animals mentioned in the preceding chapter, a great assortment of plants and roots from the primeval forest furnishes food for the Meau. One can say that the Meau eat the plants that they know and that bring no harm to the body. The Meau are positively eager to find out [824] which plants and fruits can be used by them. When, on their migrations, they come across a plant as yet unknown to them, leaves are immediately torn off, the fruits are smelled, and there is a discussion about how they could be used. The taste which the Meau develop in this way does not by any means correspond to our European taste, and they often consumed with obvious relish fruits of forest trees which were completely unpalatable to my European taste. The same can be said of the animals which are eaten. Even the civet cat, to whose meat a penetrating odor clings, is eaten, as well as beetle larvae, turtles, frogs, and toads. Besides the honey of wild bees, their larvae and pupae, as well as those of wasps and hornets, are eaten, and the latter two are even regarded as delicacies. In contrast, it is strange that all lizards, which occur in great numbers in northern Thailand, are disdained, whereas other [171] peoples settled there, the Lawa for instance, eat them with [266] passion. Among the things that are not eaten by the Meau are also snakes, worms, and human flesh. On the other hand, literally all the birds that the Meau are able to catch are eaten.

252 This wide selection of basic material is matched among [515] the Meau by the many ways of preparation. In this they are thoroughly clean, which is in strong contrast to the condition of the kitchens and houses. As /373/ a rule, it is the women, [462] who occupy themselves with the preparation of meals; if there is much work to be done, however, or if the women cannot do it for other reasons, say, pregnancy or childbirth, the men, too, occasionally cook.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/436 cont./

A 512 [264] baskets and mats. About eight o'clock the morning meal is finally ready, is eaten together by the family, and only then does the actual work of the day begin.

A [887] During the period of the work in the fields, the younger people leave the house in order to go to the fields; only the old people, the grandparents, remain behind to watch over the houses. The Akha, too, take food with them to the fields A [264] and eat it cold during a pause at midday. Sometimes, however, the women, too, stay at home and do the domestic tasks, spinning, weaving, dyeing, and caring for the children and domestic animals, as among the Meau.

During the period after the harvest, the men may go hunting or the occupants of the house may go fishing together. A [264] In these cases, too, the cooked food for midday is taken along. They always return home at sunset, and often even later during the [312] period of the fieldwork. Here water must now be fetched and [252] the rice hulled by the women, but the men help them with this (Ill. 39) as with the cooking and then the evening meal is eaten. [276] Later, the old people sit together and smoke tobacco and opium, [883] while the young people leave the houses, visit one another, and go on romantic adventures. Around ten o'clock, however, everybody is usually already in bed and asleep, for the days are filled with hard and strenuous work. At the time of the festivals, on the other hand, the entertainment often lasts through A [527] most of the nights and the sound of the mouth organs does not die away until dawn.

/437/

Chapter 26

Men's Work and Women's Work

M 462 Besides a whole number of tasks that are performed together by both sexes, various tasks among the Meau are reserved for the one or the other sex. The strictly observed division of M [231] labor begins in childhood. Exclusively men's work is the following: hunting, climbing trees, making planks and posts, felling

1 [see cat. 116, p 272 - ANALYST]

/437 cont./

462 large trees, building stables for cattle, horses, and pigs, the
[231] care of domestic animals that bite, and saddling the pack animals. Another task exclusively for the men is the making of weapons; only the men make arrow poison and poison the weapons, catch mammals and birds, cook opium, and make alcohol. Furthermore it is their task to chop up the large trunks
[342] into firewood. In housebuilding, on the other hand, the men alone set only the posts.

Actually, the hard struggle for existence in the mountains of Farther India requires the full co-operation of the woman. Abadie (1) has likewise made the same observation:

1 Page 151.

"It is the task of the Meau women to carry firewood and water; also among their activities are the preparation of yarn, spinning,
[241] weaving, dyeing, batik work, embroidery, all the housework
[248] and the cooking, and the weeding in the fields." Savina (2)

2. II, p. 211.

mentions further that the cultivation of flax is reserved to the women, but the Meau in Thailand do not practice it.

Both sexes do the work in the fields, clear the virgin
[241] forest, lay out the rice fields, sow, plant, and bring in the harvest.
[231] Among the joint tasks there are also reaping, fishing, papermaking, the care of the good-natured domestic animals, knitting or crocheting, netting, plaiting, house construction, in particular the strenuous dragging in of the building materials, as well as the bearing of burdens in general, the operation of the stone mills, and the sacrifices to the ancestors and spirits.

461 /438/ There is no actual work specifically for the chil-
857 dren. The children grow into their future activity, as has already been described in the chapter, "Life in the Community," the section, "Children at Play and Work." Obviously, the fetch-
[313] ing of firewood and water-carrying are left for them; boys are
[312] used as messengers and appear to be as trustworthy at it as in
[231] feeding the domestic animals in the stables or in tending them
[203] in the pastures.

/VI cont./

291 Ill. 61. The tying of the turban is an artistic affair. Because of the covered hair knot above the forehead, the turban towers high in front. The embroidered ends of the long blue turban cloth are visible on top. A black-and-white-checked cloth is wound over the blue one.

515 Ill. 62. Family idyll. The father delouses his daughter, and the wife simultaneously delouses her husband. As a result of the very limited cleanliness and deficient body care, the Meau are filthy. Many colonies of lice thrive in the best possible way in the long hair. The Meau develop a remarkable skill for catching them.

Ills. 63-69. Children at play and work.

854 [858] Ill. 63. Father with his two sons. The Meau are very fond of children. The fathers often especially like to devote themselves to the small children, without making any distinction between boys and girls, and carry them around with them, though the actual care of small children is women's work. [462]

283 868 Ill. 64. Making a rope. Rattan fibers are twisted with the palm of the hand on the bare lower leg. Boys eager to learn watch with interest. Demonstration and imitation are the basis of child education among the Meau.

857 Ill. 65. A favorite game of the Meau children is the modeling of animal and human figures out of clay. The figures are dried in the sun and serve as toys.

482 854 Ill. 66. Child carrying. By means of special carrying cloths, the children are fastened to the backs of their parents and are not put down even during field work, for it would be difficult to watch and protect them against large cats and birds of prey.

125 Ill. 67. Drawing test among the Meau. Children and adults of different ages and sex were instructed by me to draw with my pencil within a given time and uninfluenced by a third party whatever occurred to them. The results disclosed interesting insights into the development and artistic talent of the natives. It is to be noted how the nine-year-old girl, who is carrying a younger [854]